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ABSTRACT

This research report describes a study of Marquesas Islanders and how they interact with each other at different life stages from childhood, through youth and adulthood. Fieldwork for this study was conducted for a 10-month period on the island of 'Ua Pou, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. A small community of about 200 people in a valley on the leeward side of the island served as the setting for this research. Both formal and informal observations of valley life provide the basis for the study of group interactions. These interactions are then linked to the range of Marquesan beliefs about how individuals should relate to the group. The observed differences across the lifespan that are described include: (1) patterns of social behavior; (2) rules underlying these patterns; and (3) concepts of how to relate to others underlying these patterns. Different life stages are characterized by different interaction patterns, rules, and concepts of human relations. (EH)

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Running Head: MARQUESAN SOCIAL INTERACTION

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Patterns of social interaction and concepts of interpersonal-relating at different life-stages in the Marquesas Islands

Purpose:

In this report I describe ways Marquesans interact with each other at different life stages, and link these to the range of Marquesan beliefs about how individuals should relate to the group. I argue that Marquesans are expected to engage in very different forms of social interaction at different life stages, in order to practice a valued range of human interactive potential.

In particular, I describe observed differences across the life span in: 1) patterns of social behavior; 2) rules underlying these patterns, and; 3) concepts of how to relate to others underlying these expectations. Regularities in interaction behavior, (i.e. patterns of who interacts with whom, in what ways and about what), reflect rules or expectations about interactions (i.e. social "do's" and "don't's"). These stem from cultural definitions of the individual, others and relationships among people.

Different life-stages are characterized by different interaction patterns, rules and concepts of human relating. I suggest that social patterns and psychological lessons learned by Marquesan children differ from those expected of Marquesan adolescents [taure'are'a youth="wandering or errant-youth"].

Similarly, taure'are'a patterns and beliefs must be abandoned when people settle down to become adults. Moving from one stage to the next involves significant shifts in beliefs. Problems Marquesans have in moving from stage to stage must be considered in relation to these shifts.

In the Marquesan life-cycle, patterns learned in childhood resemble those applied in adult life. Adolescent patterns, though, differ from both sets. The values and behaviors of each stage are cultural lessons to people at that stage concerning the range of human interaction potential and as cultural commentary on the advantages and dangers of various forms. These messages are important to people within a particular stage and to others, outside that stage. In a second report, "The July Festival: Social Mechanisms Delimiting Youth and Adulthood," I demonstrate how these differences in interaction rules and beliefs are conveyed to Marquesans via gossip and the festival structuring of interaction.

Background

Marquesan children, taure'are'a, adults, and old people differ in a number of ways. They differ in size, appearance, coordination, work-skills, language and thinking skills and sexual development. They also differ in work roles, responsibilities, where they spend most of their time, the geographical range of their activities, and the times of the day in which they are most

active. Children, teens, young adults, adults and elders also dress, stand and move differently. They differ in the range of their relationship networks and in how they interact with significant others.

Marquesans tend to change in all the above ways as they move from one stage of development to the next. Marquesans also use these life-stage features to mark a person's developmental stage.

Marquesan groups run smoothly because people maintain mental images of who should interact with whom, about what, and in what ways. In the Marquesas, these expectations are not clearly stated, but are conveyed via gossip concerning deviant, novel or unfitting behaviors. People sometimes emphasize the "badness" of unexpected behavior, but more commonly stress the differentness or strangeness of the actions. People comment that unexpected actions are '<u>mea huike</u>' (meaning 'weird' or 'strange things'; stemming from the root 'ke' meaning 'different').

It is not that Marquesans are intolerant of differentness. To the contrary, they tend to accept a large range of individual decisions and ways of doing things. Strict "do's" and "don't's" are not stated in the Marquesas, but people are to learn these through observing patterned social exchange. There is much leeway for social action.

On the other hand, Marquesans point out differences in others, in order to cement their common, shared goals and charac-

teristics. They clearly define who is outside their group. By default this defines who is in it. On the other hand, this kind of "social pressure" system, depending on the individual's avoidance of being different our "out", requires an earlier process for developing in people a sense of what it means to be "in" or "same".

Early psychological lessons in the Marquesas teach rules and meta-rules for such interpersonal processes as: cooperating, sharing, borrowing, giving, taking, depending, providing, displaying, observing, communicating inner experience, and identifying with others. I describe some of these lessons in the sections below.

A third set of life-stage distinctions involves the meanings attributed to particular behavior patterns, e.g. Why, according to a complex system of beliefs, does a child interact with others in one way, while a taure'are'a youth interacts in another way? Developmentally - in terms of theories of moral development - what it means "to relate to others" changes across the life-span, and in this sense we would expect children, adolescents and adults to conceptualize this differently. However, there may also be culturally-imposed ways in which children, wandering youth, and adults think about relating, and the differences between these may serve as cultural messages concerning the relative merits and dangers of the particular forms.

I am suggesting that underlying concepts of "individual" and "others", the expected relation between the two, and beliefs such as "how close can one person be to another?", and "how expressible, understandable and identifiable is one person's inner experience to another?" change in culturally-relevant ways across the Marquesan life-cycle.

Specifically, I am hypothesizing:

a) During childhood, children are taught to trust and quietly work side-by-side with familiar others (family members, nearby kin, or close-neighbors), but to limit or carefully regulate outside ties. In a psychological sense, close-relationships are given by the nature of things and involve unspoken cooperation and unquestioning acceptance. They are based on a model of relationships as mutually-nurturing.

b) In contrast, emphasis is on sociality during the taure'are'a period. Taure'are'a are to extend their relationship networks, to develop ties across kin, gender, neighborhoods, and even valleys. Adolescent friendships are based on personal qualities and mutual identification, rather than on kin ties or familiarity.

c) The transition from youth to adulthood involves rejecting "wandering youth" patterns and beliefs and accepting values which are much closer to those stressed in childhood.

In the sections below, I document and elaborate these themes.

Outline and Methodology:

In this report, I describe life-stage characteristics distinguishable via formal and informal observation of valley life. This consist of differences in daily activities, life-spaces, time-spaces, relationship networks and interaction patterns. The data-base for this description includes:

a) a filmed and observational study of children living at the main-valley school;
b) formal observations of preschool and school-aged children in the smaller valley;
c) a filmed study of mother-infant interactions;
d) interviews with children concerning friendship patterns and beliefs;
e) interviews with mothers concerning family dynamics and household work schedules, and
f) collaborative work with John Kirkpatrick concerning taure'are'a and adult relationship networks.

For each stage, I describe psychological lessons presented to people in that stage, concerning how to interact with various others and what to expect from these relationships. I describe: a) lessons about within-household relating, and b) messages about contact with outsiders. I compare these with patterns at other stages.

Descriptions of psychological lessons are derived from interviews with 15 mothers in the valley of Hakamai'i. I supplement these with direct observation of adult/child interactions. Information about taure'are'a and adult patterns is derived from observations of teens, particularly during the Rare Festival described in a later section.

The setting:

Fieldwork for this study was conducted for a ten-month period on the island of 'Ua Pou, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. The island is about ten miles long, six miles wide, and, with no reef, is open to the sea. It is mountainous with the valleys cutting down to the sea. There is no coastal plain and the valleys are geographically isolated by ridges. A road connects three of the inhabited valleys; paths connect the rest. The population was over 1,700 in 1976, with approximately 700 people living in one large, flat valley on the windward side of the island; the rest of the population is distributed among five smaller valleys.

The valley described in this paper is on the leeward side of the island and has a population of about 200 people. The Marquesas Islands are part of the territory of French Polynesia. Government consists of a locally-elected "commune", with representatives from each valley, which is financially supported by the French territorial government. The French administration runs the schools and public health service.

Valley Description:

The valley consists of 26 houses built along the two sides of a valley and connected by a path running from the sea up the valley, across the stream and down the other side, (see Figure 1). People speak of "inland" and "seaward" sections of the village.

Three neighborhood groupings are also vaguely distinguishable as having kin and/or close neighbor ties. Area I (see Figure 1), for example, consists of an extended family and close neighbors; and Area II consists of a father's house and the households of four of his grown daughters. Each of these areas has a common sitting and talking area, generally near the path (e.g. the baking shed in area I and near the cookhouse for household 16 in area III). People sit in these common areas, and chat. Some cooperation and borrowing seems to go on among these households; and children's early friendship patterns are formed primarily within these groupings.

Average household size is 7.5 people. Most of the households consist of two-generation families. One household has two grandparents; two households have one grandparent; and in three households, old people live with adopted children. Two households consist exclusively of unmarried taure'are'a. The young 'infirmier' (or medical technician) lives with 3 or 4 taure'are'a boys, 2 of whom are kin. The other young-people's household (HH26) is an old house, called "la maison des amoureux" by its owner, who allows his sons and friends to live in it.

Older houses are of the planked, French-colonial style, with large porches. Newer houses are made of plywood with galvanized steel roofs, built on concrete foundations. The two government built houses, and the house of the former chief, are concrete. There are three electrical generators in the valley: one for the school, clinic and Catholic church. These are used to project movies, light public areas for feasts, and light the church for night services. The village is very clean, has water piped in from upland reservoirs, and has few sanitation problems.

Of the four stores (store-rooms) in the valley, two are more-or-less permanently stocked with goods such as rice, flour, sugar, salt, coffee, tea, canned milk for nursing infants, canned goods, tobacco and some hardware supplies, which are ordered from Tahiti and arrive on the more-or-less monthly copra ships. If money is formally borrowed it is generally from a storekeeper.

The school provides the first three levels of French education. Two Marquesans teach the 60 children, who range in age from 5 to 12. When children have completed the first levels, they go to the main valley school where they live in a dormitory set-up in large peer groups. Education is compulsory until 13 years of age. In this valley, most boys quit school at this time; many of the girls, however, go on to secondary school.

The clinic provides routine medical and maternity services. Cases requiring more extensive care are taken by boat to the

hospital in the main valley. The building is partially open and provides a cool, shaded place where taure'are'a, and other people sit and talk, sing, or play ping-pong.

There is a Catholic and a Protestant church in the valley. The Catholic missionary travels between the 6 valleys and to another island, and comes here about once a month. The rest of the time the Marquesan deacon ('tumu pure') performs the services in Marquesan. The Protestant church is more autonomous - the pastor is a native of the valley. There are criteria for becoming an adult member of this church, such as being married. As part of the Tahitian Protestant mission, the services are in Tahitian. The valley is somewhat equally divided by religion. People feel that the two religions coexist harmoniously, but do not want missionaries from other religions to try to settle here. They consider the valley to be "full garden plot" as far as religion is concerned.

(In earlier time, Protestant/Catholic marriages were discouraged, and many same-religion marriages were arranged. These generally did not work out however, and for whatever other reasons, cross-religion marriage become acceptable, and several families are part-Protestant, part-Catholic (the children taking the religion of one or the other parent according to various plans)). Most people attend church regularly, and sit on the steps for an hour or so afterwards, relaxing and talking. The

mission also sends films which are projected in front of the church, once or twice a month.

The valley economy is predominantly subsistence: people fish, grow breadfruit, cultivate taro, manioc and sweet-potatoes, raise pigs, and occasional goat, and chickens. Money-making work includes: 1) cutting copra (coconut meat) in groves upland or in neighboring, uninhabited valleys where families have land; 2) picking coffee in these valleys and processing it to sell to the copra ships; and 3) carving bowls and ukalele (for men), and weaving mats and hats (for women), to sell to the ships and to visiting yachts people.

Commune projects such as building a road, school, clinic, bridge, wharf of reservoir, or laying piping, also provide temporary, paid jobs. Older adolescent males go to Tahiti or France for a year or more of compulsory military service. Often they stay to work, sending money or goods back to the valley. Young married men also spend some time in Tahiti or on other islands, raising enough money to buy the very expensive building materials for a house.

There are six salaried positions in the valley: the elected "maire" or chief; the gendarme; two school teachers; a paramedic; and a Protestant pastor. The present chief was recently elected as "assistant mayor" of the island, and is one of the two representatives from this valley to the commune government. His job

involves negotiating whatever economic or political ties are necessary with the other valleys (e.g. representing the valley in the drawing up of the budget; arguing over the location for the July Festival, etc.) organizing (or delegating authority to organize) the in-valley work forces necessary to carry out commune projects; taking care of the public areas in the valley (which the present chief literally does himself: picking up leaves, pulling weeds, etc.); and extending hospitality to foreign visitors. The present chief is unusual in his attempts to generate enthusiasm for valley solidarity, cooperation and community pride.

The gendarme keeps birth, death and marriage records, takes care of formal complaints to the French policeman on the island, and handles valley complaints. Typical transactions include: fining the owner of a horse which has wandered into another's yard and has destroyed the fruits; fining the parents of boys caught stealing melons; fining the parents of a taure'are'a boy caught sneaking into a girl's house with sexual intentions; and breaking up the very rare, non-marital, violent fight.

Valley life:

Daily life is quite routine and for adults is organized around household work, fishing, gathering and preparing food, and cultivating. The day is broken up by meals and social-talking, generally with other members of the household, nearby neighbors

or people passing on the path. Early in the morning, men and older taure'are'a boys leave in outrigger canoes to go fishing. Women spend the morning cleaning, washing clothes, pounding breadfruit to make popoi, working in the garden, weaving hats or mats and occasionally going fishing from the rocks.

Children do some household work in the morning (picking up leaves, gathering wood, or feeding the animals), then go to school. Late morning, the men return from fishing; the children return from school and the family eats, more or less together at a table or sitting on benches or rocks in the cooking area. The children play for a while, then return to school until 3:30. Adults often sit, talk or sleep for a while. In the afternoon they work in the gardens or do jobs around the house.

People generally finish work by late afternoon, shower, sit and talk, or watch the evening volley ball game (played by taure'are'a boys and girls and some young married adults). Children play on the bridge, in the stream or in the sea until dusk when they usually return home, shower and eat a light evening meal of coffee, bred, left-over fish and popoi.

In the evenings, children play in or near the house, read, do homework and listen to the "radio Tahiti". Adults in the household talk and listen to the radio. Children go to sleep at around 8 or 9, with little coaxing; adults follow soon after. In the evening, adolescent males gather on the bridge, near the

clinic, or near the boathouses to play guitar and ukalele, sing or talk. They are also said to sneak around the valley, climbing into girls' houses to have sex with them, or meeting them in a prearranged place.

Saturdays and Sundays differ from this routine in that work is much reduced or abandoned. These also tend to be family-days spent in public places, with a family and close-neighbors having a picnic near the sea, children going to the sea in family-groups, etc. Church and socializing afterwards, and the afternoon volley ball game are important events of Sunday.

Summary: Public and Private Domains

Ecological characteristics of this valley as well as aspects of its daily routine can be considered in terms of public and private life and time spaces. Very public life-spaces include the paths, bridges, steps and walls in front of the churches, boathouses, and ramp area. Also public, but to somewhat smaller groups are the neighborhood talking areas near the paths, the baking shed, and the steps in front of the stores. Fairly consistent neighbor and household groups sit here, though passers-by may stop for a while to chat. The school play-yard, potentially a public place, is kept strictly private by the director's wife, whose house would otherwise be surrounded by children. There seems to be some question by others, though, as to whose land this government property is, and whether other people in the valley have the right to pick fruit from it.

Land boundaries are carefully marked and "private" seems to begin here. Houses are generally set back quite a way from the path. Walls and door-steps in front of houses, and cookhouses to the side seem somewhat private and limited to household members, close-neighbors or kin, or people invited to "come eat". The interior of houses, especially the sleeping rooms, remains the most private area. As I describe later, children learn this privacy-continuum early, when they are taught not to enter, eat or sleep at other peoples' houses. Breaches of this privacy code are considered to be "va'avo" (roughly glossed as 'unacceptably demanding or intrusive').

It is interesting, though, that reasons for not crossing private boundaries are expressed more in terms of household self-sufficiency and lack of need to ask something of others (e.g. "don't eat elsewhere; we have out own cookhouse!") rather than in terms of rules for protecting privacy. In this sense, children and others are often embarrassed to come into private areas even when invited, and hang around at the doorsill or outside. The intruder, in situations when intrusion can not be avoided, is generally the most embarrassed party in crossing a private line; the people "intruded-upon" often seem delighted and welcome him with food. Fear of obligation ties may be operating here.

The most public time spaces are before and after church; late afternoons by the volley ball court; during the day by the ramp.

Public times are generally in full daylight, though movies, festivals and feasts with dancing are striking exceptions to this. Evening chatting groups seem more private, and night time is the most private, generally involving only the household members. It is interesting that this generally private time is the most active period of the day for taure'are'a males, and, presumably, for some females.

Social role-structure in the valley also follows this public/private dichotomy, i.e. there are more "public" and more "private" people. People in the salaried positions are perhaps the most public; it is interesting that these are also the most "foreign" people of the valley. Of the 6 salaried people, 2 are long-time natives of the valley; 2 are from other valleys; 1 is from another island, and 1 is originally from another island group. Their salaried position is combined with other activities and characteristics which place them in the public realm. In this position, they are made responsible for public matters, for working out the details of within valley cooperation as well as dealing with contact with the outside world.

These people are also more consistently on public display. Most of these men end up on valley organizing committees; the school director and chief have motorboats and therefore end up handling most of the transport of supplies, mail and people to and from the other valleys; the school director runs the radio-

phone and feeds the visiting police, administrators and yachtspeople. The chief extends hospitality to visiting Marquesan officials and yachtspeople. The pastor, chief's father, and former chief run stores and lend money; and the chief runs the bakery. Also, the four "show place" houses are owned by prominent people. In this sense, public people are set apart in terms of roles, contacts with the outside, and material possessions. Most of these officials seem conflicted, at the least, with this position and attempt to deemphasize their public roles and move closer to being "just folks". But they serve a certain function that others do not want to serve and are appreciated for this.

In the next section I describe how public and private life spaces and time periods are occupied differently by people at different stages of the life-cycle.

Life-style at different stages of the life-cycle:

Marquesans at different stages of the life-cycle have different life-spaces, daily routine and relationship networks. These constitute the most observable aspects of life-stage distinctions. Distribution of the population into these stages is presented in Table 1. Questions asked in this section are: how public or private are the life and time-spaces of these people? Whom do they interact with? What is the nature of the these interactions? And what is the relation between the range and the

nature of their interactions? The stages delineated here refer more to life-style distinctions, as seen by the observer, than to conceptual differences made by Marquesans.

Childhood:

1. Infants and Toddlers: Infants and young toddlers spend most of their day in or near the house or with their mothers, caretaking siblings, fathers or grandparents. Until about 5 or 6 months, babies are cared for primarily by their mothers. After this, however, they are cared for by siblings, held by nearby neighbors and eventually, passed around freely at church, while waiting for ships, etc. Very young babies are often held facing the mother, and much face-to-face play occurs. About when they start getting passed around, however, they also come to be held facing outward most of the time, and in this position serve as social-connectors. Before the infant is one year old, caretaking siblings take him down to the area by the sea where the other children are playing. Babies are often given to slightly older siblings to calm when upset. These children (sometimes 4 years old) come to expect this, and are upset when not allowed to calm the baby.

2. Preschool: Toddlers spend much of the day playing near the house. At some point (from age 2 to 4 depending on whether they have slightly older siblings who are not yet in school), they begin leaving the household area to play in peer groups. At

first they play on the path and in the stream-bed near the house. Later, they go down to the sea (if from Area II or III), to the boathouse, bridges, stream or school yard. These pre-school groups spend the mornings and afternoon (while siblings are in school) playing pretend games in the dry-docked boats, sitting in a circle gossiping (in direct imitation of adults) or playing in the sea. Mothers worry that they will get caught in the surf or hurt on the rocks and periodically come down to the sea to yell at them and chase them upland with a switch. They filter back down again, immediately, and mothers feel there is little they can do to prevent this, since it is the nature of children to play.

Though these children are said to have companions, adults consider their friendships to be superficial and not "true" friendships; playmates are interchangeable. On weekends and vacations, pre-school children play mainly in family groups, coming down to the sea with their older siblings. Neighboring family groups, however, play side-by-side, so the pre-school children remain in close contact with their peer-group. They play together, for instance, when the older children swim out and they are left on the shore. In general, though very young children roam to other sections of the valley and play in the public areas most of the day, they tend to wander only in a sibling or close neighbor group, andit is rare to see a lone child way from his household area.

Significantly, the one lone, wandering child in the valley, comes from a different valley, and was recently adopted into a family in this valley: he does not have an inherently supportive sibling and neighbor group. He is systematically teased, made to cry and outcast by older boys. This behavior is very unusual for these children, who are generally very gentle; the anxiety of those observing a lone child seems to be as great as the one child's discomfort.

3. In-Valley School Children:

At 5 or 6 years, children start school in the valley. Before and after school, and at lunchtime, they play in large, cross-sex, cross-neighborhood groups, playing chase games, hiding games, prisoner games, and plastic bottle soccer. Within these large groups, however, the early neighborhood ties can still be seen. These relationships are also particularly clear when children sit, watching others, talking, grooming each other, or sharing food. Small groups and pairs or children playing together also follow the family/neighborhood ties. Family and close-neighbor ties are also distinct on Saturdays and Sundays when children play in the sea or walk upland to pick fruit. In general, school yard play is the most age and school class oriented. Early morning and late evening play is very limited to familiar others: siblings and neighbors. In general, though there is a

de-emphasis of family ties in terms of parent/child interactions, the sibling and close-neighbor groups form the core of children's peer-relations in the rest of the valley.

4. Main-Valley School Children:

When children have passed the first three levels of primary education they go to the main-valley school. Here they live in dormitories in same-sex groups of 50, with children from the other small valleys of the island. They return to the home-valley during vacations, a total of about four months per year. In this way, they spend four or five years of their children living in an age-homogeneous group in a foreign valley, among children from foreign valleys. The children adjust to this life-style easily, and though there is only one adult supervisor per group of 50, there are almost no discipline problems. (The only problems reported by the director are those of stealing, which are attributed to the taure'are'a boys about to leave the school).

The children are very self-sufficient, and say they are used to the life at the school though would prefer to be home, and look forward to vacations. They claim they become homesick for the valley place (the sea, the running-stream, the upland areas) and the freedom to roam, and secondarily for their families. This may be due to the fact that most of their support group is with them.

Friendship groupings among these boarding school or "internat" children are by valley and sex. Though they play in large, cross-valley groups, the same valley groupings remain at the core. This is evident when games are initiated: children join the game in clumps of same-sex, same-valley friends. In this way, very large group games are organized very quickly and without the need for formal initiation, team-choosing, etc. Valley friendship groups are also apparent when children sit, talk, eat together, comb each other's hair, or exchange clothes. In the presence of more extreme "outsiders", friendship groups extend to the entire valley: the exclusive neighbor and family ties breakdown somewhat. However, these re-establish themselves very quickly when the children return to the valley on vacation. Any cross-valley friendships tend to be among kin, including siblings who have been adopted out to other valleys. As children approach the taure'are'a period, friendships become organized more around age and school class, and begin to extend across valley.

Summary: Childhood Life-Space and Relationship Patterns:

In terms of life-space, children move from private, household areas outward into the valley, moving at first to the nearby path and stream, then to the sea, to school, and eventually to the

main-valley. They make these early moves with siblings and close-neighbor peers; and these groups remain as support relationships throughout their childhood. Adults feel that these early social relations are superficial and interchangeable: children look for playmates and anyone will fill the role. Adults draw a distinction between this and real friendship. If not "friends" however, the child has gained a constant support group. These groups are most observable in the more private times and places, but are also distinguishable as core-groups within the larger ones. Many of the solidarity activities of these groups involve nurturing: sharing food, sitting close together or reclining on each other, resting together, holding hands or putting arms over shoulders, mutual grooming, quiet talk and commentary (usually about 'outsiders'), and, very importantly, standing-by when one child cries or is hurt. These "solidaire" or nurturing activities become even more important in the amorphous boarding-school situation.

5. Early Taure'are'a Period:

Boys tend to leave school at 13 for the stated reasons that: 1) they get more fed-up with book-learning than girls (at which they are considered to do less well); 2) they become tired of the authority structure of the school, particularly the policy of having the older boys do various jobs around the school, (unload-

ing supplies from the ships, etc.) and; 3) they are eager to start in on taure'are'a wandering and to rejoin their "escaped" friends back in the valley.

Girls tend to go on to secondary school, possibly because the alternative is to do much of the housework in their home valley, and also because other girls continue on to school so that their support group would be very diminished at home. There is also parental pressure to have the daughters continue, to receive certificates and become teachers, extremely well-paid positions. The earlier graduating classes, however, have filled most of the existing positions, and the future for this is not promising. The wish is still there however, when they see the benefits of a paying job. (In the large valley, school teachers build second houses for their parents, buy jeeps, freezers, etc.).

Mothers say they do not block their children from quitting school, though they stress that certificates mean money later and make clear that if they quit they must work for the household and not sit around the valley.

As the children approach the end of the compulsory education period, they begin grouping in same-sex, same-age groups. Friendship patterns then extend across valleys and across neighborhood areas within valleys. Because of slight age differences (and possibly a growing avoidance of kin-ties), siblings are not generally in the same taure'are'a group. When a boy leaves

school at 13 he may leave most of his friends there. At the same time he is not well integrated into the valley taure'are'a group. In this case, he sits around alone, in the boathouses or by the sea, for a couple of weeks, in awkward transition.

Sometimes boys wait for a friend to 'pohu'e ('survive', 'escape', 'leave school') and they leave together, walking overland for a day to return to the valley. In any case, the early in-valley taure'are'a period seems quite stressful: boys sit around, tease small children, avoid adults (who tell them to work and act disgusted at their laziness), and in general, stay away from their households.

It is not clear what they should do all day: they do not have the equipment or experience to go spear-fishing as do their older brothers; they do not have the guitars or ukeleles nor the perfected abilities to play these. They have neither real work roles nor other children to play with. If a vacation occurs and younger friends return, they may try playing with them for a while, but they are not longer part of that group, and this is short-lived. Briefly, for the first time they must develop friendships without the unspoken support of a very familiar group of siblings and neighbors. Slowly they make friends with other young taure'are'a, and hang around on the periphery of the older taure'are'a groups. In this peripheral position they pick up guitar and singing skills, listen to talk about taure'are'a

activities and in this way, become socialized into various "wandering youth" beliefs.

In terms of life and time-space, the young taure'are'a boy seems most displaced. He avoids his household, where he may be ordered to work, yet he does not seem very comfortable to integrated into the public areas where the older taure'are'a gather. He does not want to do children's chores, but does not have the means for autonomous work. Due to this his days are somewhat empty. Night-time wandering may also pose a problem in that he is not well-integrated into the older taure'are'a group and not that proficient in sexual wandering. On the other hand he is not part of the adult talking which goes on in the household at night, and avoids staying there. The solution to all of this seems to be to stick closely to the one or two same-aged boys. In this way, close, support-relationships are developed in a time of general alienation.

The July Festival (described in the next report) may provide the clearest means for integrating these boys into the larger taure'are'a group. First, they are included in the dance group, which practices nightly for several weeks before the Rare. The dilemma of what to do in the evenings is solved in this way. Also, they are made more functional parts of the group. There seem to be some initiation aspects to this dancing, which I will discuss later. In a second sense, they can participate in the

night-time dancing and become distinguished from children and categorized as taure'are'a in this way. In summary, the young taure'are'a suffers separation from the larger community without integration into a substitute support group. It is not surprising that many of the asocial acts, such as stealing fruit or money, are attributed to them.

The life-style of girls who leave school at 13 is much less errant than that of the boys. Much of their day is spent cleaning, cooking and baby tending. Friends may gather on the bridge, though, in the late morning when most work is finished, or in the bake-shed in the afternoon, waiting for the bread to bake. In late afternoon they often swim together, play and watch volleyball, and chat until dusk. On weekends they walk inland, to pick fruit, go swimming, sit in the sun on the small islands in the bay, or take an outrigger canoe to the next valley to gather fruit and chestnuts.

Church activities also provide situations for socializing and for grouping by life-stage. Seating in the Catholic church is by sex and life-stage. Females sit on one side, males on the other. In-valley children sit in front; followed by main-valley school children, older girls, mothers with small children and old women. After church, this group of older girls leaves the steps-area and sit and talk on the bridge or away from the adults.

The July Festival also provides increased freedom from the household and opportunity for socializing. Fathers are sometimes

wary of the night-time dance practices; one man went to dance practice nightly to make sure his daughter came directly home; another would not allow his daughter to participate. These attitudes were considered to be overprotective. Older girls maintain much stronger ties to the household than the taure'are'a boys. They develop a smooth-running working relationship with their mothers, with whom they work side-by-side daily. Whatever wandering and sociality they engage in is during the day. In this way they remain integrated in day to day valley life and do not have the wandering, errant ways of the boys.

Girls who remain at school in the main-valley are somewhat less tied to household work, though they work at the houses in which they board (secondary school children live with families), and have greater opportunity for wandering and grouping; going to the movies, watching the taure'are'a soccer game, etc. They say they enjoy this freedom and compare it to their daily work at home. Friendship groups are same-sex, and age homogeneous. Intimate, dyadic relationships also emerge. Larger groups gather to talk, laugh and tease boys who pass by - mainly rejecting, loudly, any kind of overtures on their part. A great deal of intrigue seems to involve secret sexual encounters - everyone trying to figure out the activities of the other. Much of this gathering and talking is during the day.

7. Later Taure'are'a Period:

For males, the trend across the taure'are'a period involves:

1) increased autonomy from the household: acquiring work skills, going fishing, depending less on the household for food and also providing it with fish. Eventually some males live in separate households, cooking part of the time for themselves, cleaning, and sometimes washing their own clothes;
2) increased competence in work activities, and;
3) increased competence, confidence and integration into taure'are'a activities and areas: taking over public places and singing, playing guitar and ukalele, joking and talking - as well as drinking and planning sexual encounters.

Ties with the household are maintained in that they eat some meals there, take fish home, leave their dirty clothes, and work with their fathers at times. Their primary group, however, is the peer group, and particularly their close friends. Their household contact, now, is with friends accompanying them. Friends eat with them, sleep with them and when they work for one of the other's family, it is together.

Summary: Taure'are'a Life-Space and Relationship Patterns:

The taure'are'a period, particularly for males, is characterized by increasing autonomy from the household and settling into

peer group ways. The wandering youth take over specific public places and sometimes set up their own households. They work for themselves, buy their own fishing equipment, and are no longer ordered to do things. They help out the family, but more as free-agents.

They develop close working, living and wandering relationships with one or two same-sex friends. The nature of these friendships seem different from that of children's relationship in that they are based more on mutual identification and sharing of a common "separate from the community" experience, rather than on kind or close neighbor familiarity.

In this way wandering youth live in a very separate world from the rest of the community. This is perhaps most clearly symbolized by the fact that during the most private time, night, when adults, children and old people are in their houses, talking quietly and interacting only with family members, errant youth are in the most public places, interacting with an extended group of people and sometimes making quite a bit of noise.

8. Young people away from the valley:

Taure'are'a autonomy increases to the point that older youth leave the valley to do the required military service or to work. They continue close peer relationships, and to help the household in a free-agent way, sending money or goods home. Many remain in Tahiti, but some have been returning to the valley recently.

9. Early Settled Couples:

At some point, young people settle down together, either in a separate youth household, or in the household of one or the other. The settling down process represents a slow return to daily life as organized around a functioning household. At first, life is little changed for the couple, except that the man brings home fish and both spend evenings at home. Life becomes household and daylight oriented. Wandering and sociality diminish.

Problems for these couples include: jealously over the continuing wandering of the other; difficulties in living with the parents of the other, and slips in day to day work responsibility. Some of the shifts in attitude and behavior involved in this transition will be discussed in a later section.

Demographically, there are few young couples in this valley. Many have gone to Tahiti, to work to earn money to buy materials for a house. Single people, from 18 to 25 may also go to Tahiti to look for spouses, since their in-valley mate choice may be severely restricted by extensive kin-ties.

10. Settled Couples:

After living with each other for a while, and perhaps, having one child, a couple may decide to marry. They may continue to

live in the parental household until land is secured or subdivided and materials bought for a house. Couples continue to have problems with the conflicts between taure'are'a life and adulthood, but these lie more in lags in responsibility than in sexual jealously. Marital arguments and physical fights arise most frequently in these couples, and are generally about drunkenness, wasting money, laziness, or the problems involved in living with the other's parents.

Summary: Life-Space and Relationship Patterns of Early Adulthood:

The stages of settling into adulthood involve: 1) increased orientation to the household, with work responsibility; 2) decreased wandering and neutralizing of intensity of peer friendships; and 3) stabilization of the marital relationships as a smooth-running, quietly cooperative, working relationship. These indicate a gradual decrease in public life-space and in extensiveness and intensiveness of relationships, and an increase in private, household space and the formation of cooperative, mutually-nurturing spouse relationships.

Degrees of settleness may relate more to age of oldest children than to absolute age. In the section on the July Festival I suggest that the transition to adulthood and abandonment of taure'are'a thought is not completed until one's children begin reaching the 'errant youth' period.

In summary, social-structural differences between life-stages indicate discontinuity in the Marquesan life-cycle. In many ways "errant youth" life-styles are in direct opposition to childhood and adulthood patterns. In the next section I deal with conceptual differences between the stages, and the cultural/psychological messages concerning the nature of interpersonal relating, which are conveyed to all.

Relationships within the household: teaching work-responsibility

Distinctions between life-stages are often described in terms of 'ma'akau' ('thought' or 'thinking style'). Adult-though is considered to be solid ('mea he'o'), heavy ('toko') and profound ('hohonu'), whereas children's thought is light or empty: "light like this basket" (HH8, p.2). Adults and children are different in that adults think of working and providing for the household, whereas "children's thought is to play all the time" (HH8, p.4). One mother says,

> Adult thinking is to provide for the survival of us all in our household; (the adult) sees that there is a lot of work to do and he does it. In this way all of us in the household survive; there's enough food... Children's thinking (involves) just sitting there; he doesn't see what thework is to be done; he doesn't see that the food needs to be cooked, that one needs to go get breadfruit and bananas.

> If I don't say "do that work", they don't work and we go hungry. They know how to do that work - cooking the food - but if I don't tell them, they don't work. (HH1, p.2)

The sense of responsibility in adults - their tendency to see what needs doing and do it - is contrasted to the tendency of children to sit around until yelled at to do something. It is responsibility rather than competence which is lacking; by a certain age children know how to do most of the household work; they just do not spontaneously think of doing it.

Adult thinking also involves foresight, the ability to plan and delay gratification for the future good. This is often expressed in terms of planting crops:

> Adult thinking is getting up in the morning and thinking of going upland and digging with the pick and shovel and planting manioc. Manioc doesn't grow quickly; it takes a year to be ripe, but if you do this each day, then in a year you will have a lot of manioc. (HH10)

In a similar sense, taure'are'a boys are said to do work, such as spear fishing, diving for lobster and spearing freshwater shrimp, but this work is said to be unplanned, spur-of-the-moment and pleasurable and is contrasted with the more tedious but well-planned cultivation work of adults.

Adult thinking also involves patience and realistic evaluation of situations. One mother describes this everyday situation:

> Then the fish arrives and children's thought is to eat it just like that, and not to cut it up and put lemon on it; but you tell them to leave the fish alone, and you prepare it. (HH10)

Another mother says that adult thought is profound: an adult wants to do something, like go to Tahiti, but he sees that there isn't enough money. A child, on the other hand, just wants to go, whether there's enough money or not. (HH14)

> Adult thought 'arrives' ('ua tihe') slowly. First, children learn how to listen and how to do the tasks. Very small children do not really listen:
>
> You say to the small child ('toiki unauna'), "bring me that thing". His though isn't on your words; his thought isn't on that thing; his thought is about some other child. (HH8, p.2)

But slowly they learn to listen, and when they try to do some work, mothers show them, step-by-step, how to do it. This is not considered to be real work, but "just play"; nevertheless it is recognized as the way children learn.

Mothers commonly report that children do not want to do the household tasks expected of them. They run off to the sea to play the minute the mother's back is turned; they claim they are going to pick up leaves by the path and then disappear; they say

that it's almost time for school and run off to play on the bridge without doing their work; they don't come home after school to avoid doing tasks.

The most commonly stated way to encourage a child to work is to threaten to hit him, or to him But mothers claim this often doesn't work; the children laugh and run off anyway. They feel there is little they can do, as this is in the nature of childhood. Another method, though, is to impress upon children that they should work in reciprocity, as fed members of the household:

> You say, "go pick up those leaves". He says, he doesn't want to, he's tired of it. He runs away to play. You say "come back and pick up these leaves". He doesn't come back. He comes back for dinner. You say "go play! that's the thing that fills you up, to play all the time". He cries and you give him his dinner and his crying stops. (HH8, p.3)

An older child is taught that he has certain inherent responsibilities to the household, that if he doesn't do a job, his mother won't do it either:

> You say, "come here and cook this food". She says she doesn't want to, she wants to go play. You say "if you don't cook this, I won't cook it and when you come back from playing there won't be any dinner" (HH8, p.3)

Children learn by watching and following the step-by-step movements of the adult. They are encouraged to do a task in

exactly the way the adult does it, and to do things only if they know how to avoid ruining the work or the tools. If a child deviates from a method, innovates or experiments with techniques, he is told to "truly" work and not just to play around. This applies to such detail as grating coconut in a certain way and stirring cake batter in circles rather than back and forth.

Some tasks also seem to be age-marked and inappropriate for even older children. For example when one pre-adolescent boy picked up an ax and split a coconut, his uncle told him to put it down, not to ruin the ax and the coconuts. This was in spite of the fact that the boy was proficient with an ax and had split the first coconut correctly.

Learning exact techniques and general work-roles minimizes the need for discussion, explanation or group planning. Each person does what needs to be done, and the job gets done. Household work, for example, is not scheduled or planned out among the members. Children are to learn to see what needs doing and to do it. The end-goal is smooth, unspoken cooperation.

One woman says that it takes her husband and her less time to cut copra than when the children come to help. When they go alone, they work quickly and don't talk: he picks the coconuts, she gathers them; he splits them, she scrapes out the meat; then, for the next sack, she splits the coconuts, he scrapes out the meat. When the children come, they spend all the time saying, "Do this; do that", and it takes them longer. (HH5)

At some point, (often said to be at age 8 or 9), children no longer need to be told to do things:

> There are some children who know to go get the wood, the coconuts, to light the fire, to put on the tea kettle - they think - even if I don't tell them, they do the work. (HH11, p.2)

Women say that when a child spontaneously goes to gather wood or cooks a meal or brings home fish, that some adult thought has arrived.

In terms of household relationships, children are taught to co-exist, co-work, co-operate silently - seeing what needs to be done and doing it. This reduces the need for cooperative planning. Routines and techniques become set and the household runs smoothly. This unspoken solidarity also becomes the core of childhood friendships.

At about age 10 or 12, whatever adult-responsibility arrived is now interrupted by the coming of taure'are'a thought. Taure'are'a thinking involves "looking for a girl, thinking 'that girl is beautiful', going to the house of that girl and having sexual relations with her." (HH8, p.4) Children's thought is said to disappear entirely ('ua ko'e') when 'errant youth' thinking arrives, but with it goes any responsibility they may have gained. Young taure'are'a avoid work and the household in general, and sulk if told to do something. Consequently, adults

become reluctant to order them around any more. Taure'are'a may do pleasurable work like fishing, but this is irregular and they avoid real work. Their work is simply to wander, to chat with friends, to go out at night, looking for girls and singing.

Adolescent girls and older taure'are'a boys are said to be more responsible. Some girls do most of the housework. Many remain at the main-valley secondary school, however, where they have more freedom and opportunity for wandering. The 17 and 18 year old boys in this valley do much of the family fishing, help with the heavy work such as house building and copra cutting and do some gardening. One mother describes the older taure'are'a:

> At 16 or 17 half of adults thinking arrives; he has half adult-thought, half taure'are'a thought. He goes upland to plant manioc and work in the garden. (HH8-4)

At some point, generally said to be when a person settles down with a mate, has their first child or marries, the "errant youth" thinking begins to go away. People settle down because they become tired or fed-up with the day-to-day instability of adolescent life. Some informants say they wanted someone to wash their clothes, to cook and keep the house clean, and refer to looking for a "mother". Women say they start thinking about having and caring for their own children, as opposed to caring for their youngest siblings.

References are made to recreating "parenting" relationships or provider/dependent roles. One informant claims that settled

couples call each other "mama" and "papa" until children are born, at which point the children become the dependents and take over using the terms and it becomes inappropriate for the parents to use them. In general, settling down is described as entering into a smooth-running working relationship with one's partner. Emphasis is on household responsibility, unspoken sharing and cooperation. A minimum goal is the self-sufficiency and solidarity of the household - of which each adult is a part.

Lessons about Relationships Outside the Household:

Networks:

In terms of relationship networks, children are taught to trust and relate to those who are familiar to them from extensive day-to-day contact: viz. members of the household and close neighbors. They are to limit or carefully regulate other ties. This is taught through a set of lessons concerning sharing, borrowing, reciprocity, and eating or sleeping at other houses.

Sharing:

Children are taught to share, borrow and ask for things only within the household unit. One mother says that when her child does not want to share with his brother, she says 'a tuku ta ko'a' ('give him that which belongs to both of you'). On the

other hand she feels it is good if he does not want to share with other children ('tahipito toiki'). In this case she says 'Don't give it away' (HH9a). Another woman says that when her child wants to give away their oranges, she is angry at him:

> I say, "leave those oranges at home; those are for us to eat; they're not for other children (HH11).

One message to children is that if they give things away there will not be enough left for the household members:

> I say to him "Don't give your things to other children; if you give them away, then you won't be full' ('makona') (HH9b)

Reciprocity:

On the other hand, children are taught rules of reciprocity: viz, that it is shameful and entangling not to pay or immediately reciprocate goods borrowed or services rendered. They also learn they can expect this reciprocity for others. Children are encouraged to avoid situations in which others ask them for things, but if this can't be avoided, they should give the object in order not to be called 'stingy' ('kaikino'). Also, they can expect quick payback. One mother describes a hypothetical situation in which her son gives food to the other children:

> I say to him "Why did you give those things to the other children?" He says, "Because they asked for them." I don't

say anything more. Another day it's up to them to give him something. I don't tell him "Don't give those away." (HH14)

Sharing and reciprocity become quite "loaded" and recurrent issues in peer play, with children applying strict rules of reciprocity. A mother describes this typical exchange:

> One child says 'give me mine' ('my share of that'); his friend says 'no, I won't allow it'; the first says 'You're stingy; if I can't have mine (i.e. part of yours/ours) then I won't give you yours (part of mine/ours).'

Some children seem to pick up on the importance of these issues to adults and on their parents' conflicts concerning sharing. They irritate their mothers by flagrantly giving - away all of the household's sweets. The mothers are torn between not wanting to appear 'stingy', yet wanting to guard the family supply of sweets. They sometimes revert to hiding the sweets, which seems to never work, and instead become another game.

Borrowing:

Borrowing between households is discouraged, but when it is unavoidable, is regulated by careful reciprocity rules. Emphasis is on the self-sufficiency of the household and the reduction and formalization of ties and obligations with other households. Mothers claim that children are ashamed of borrowing things from other households, (especially if they are not give money to pay), more than anything else.

Teaching shame involves both parties in the exchange. When a child comes to borrow something, and adult often asks "Where's your money?" If he does not have any he's jokingly berated as 'va'avo' ('unacceptably demanding or intrusive') or has to listen to stories about past breaches of reciprocity on his family's part. Mothers feel it is good for children to feel this shame because it is bad for children to ask other people for things:

If they ask for things, the adults will come and say, 'your child came to our house and asked for this' and we are ashamed if our children are 'va'avo' (HH11)

Children are also taught to insist on paying for items, (particularly from distrusted individuals), even if payment if refused, since lack of payment may produce unstated but complicated obligations. Similarly, one woman comes to borrow a plastic jerry-can from another, to keep wine in. She tries to pay, but the woman says "Don't pay; I'll just come up to your house sometime (to borrow something)". The first woman leaves the money on the table. On the other hand, sometimes adults need to borrow and the child must overcome his shame in order to provide for the household:

> If he doesn't want to go, I say "Don't be ashamed; go get that thing at so-and-so's house; if you are too ashamed about this, then we won't get what we need (a'e to tatou pohu'e)" (HH11).

In a similar sense, children are taught not to eat or sleep at other people's houses. Again, self-sufficiency and simplification of extra-household ties are the stated reasons, e.g. "Why eat at other's houses? There's a cookhouse at our place".

Summary:

In summary children are taught to avoid ties, obligations and relationships with people from outside the household or close neighborhood. Emphasis is on household solidarity, unspoken cooperation and sharing among members, but self-sufficiency and independence from the outside.

One-to-one Relating:

Similar themes can be seen in lessons concerning more personal one-to-one relationships. In this sense, self-sufficiency is extended downwards from the household to the individual level. Children learn, for example, that self-centered or extreme emotional expression is disruptive to the harmony of the household unit and is ineffective in getting what they want. When babies and small toddlers cry, mothers pick them up, rock them and try to find out why they are upset.

But when older children cry, mothers say 'stop crying; stop making so much noise; I'm tired of listening to it'. If they

continue to cry, mothers slap them until they stop or until they go into a much quieter, self-comforting cry, or some mothers threaten "Do you see this stick?" Similarly, a mother describes what she does if her child gets mad at her and sulks:

> He sits there and doesn't want to talk to you; you say "come over here" (gently); He doesn't want to. You say "come here" (louder). He doesn't want to. You go get him and hit him; and he cries. Then you pick him up and comfort him and say, "Stop your crying" and his crying stops. (HH8)

Another woman tells her child to "go take a shower and go to sleep" when he is mad at her. He goes, takes a shower and goes to sleep and "his anger goes away; before the next day, even, his anger has gone away." (HH11). Feelings should also be readily explainable and be directly related to tangible events. One mother asks her son:

> What's the root of your not wanting to talk to me? You're close to being mad at me. I don't just get angry at you (for no reason); I get mat at you for some bad thing. Don't go getting mad at me for nothing. (HH14)

An underlying theme is that feelings must be socially appropriate and concretely related to tangible events before they will be recognized, identified with and listened to by others. A theme of individual isolation comes through here. The child will not be listened to if his feeling are idiosyncratic or related to

the precipitating event in unfamiliar ways. The message is that there are limitations to what others will understand; and emotional display might well be kept within those limits.

In another sense, children are taught a certain disregard of authority. Adults feel that children must be constantly told what to do, but they feel powerless in enforcing their commands. If a child really wants to go off to play, he will. The adult's reaction is "Pehea?" ("what can one do?"); "he's a child". Mothers claim that all they can do is threaten to beat them; or slap them; but even then, some children laugh, and most run off anyway. They can also threaten to withhold food, but then when the child starts crying, they give him dinner. "What can you do? You're supposed to provide for your children!"

In general, the child learns a kind of emotional self-sufficiency, not unlike that of household self-sufficiency. He learns to comfort himself when crying - avoiding adults and older siblings who will hit him if his crying becomes disruptive - and to express socially - appropriate, understandable emotions in fairly stereotyped forms.

Complexities of inner experience, feelings which do not match the social definition of the situation, are not very expressible and will not be identified with by others. Self-sufficiency and the tendency to limit, simplify and carefully regulate interpersonal relationships emerge as themes in:

1) the sets of social-interaction rules for sharing, borrowing, stealing and eating or sleeping at other people's houses, and;
2) in more basic beliefs concerning the potentialities of interpersonal relating, i.e. what the Marquesan child learns to expect and not to expect from human interaction.

These rules and beliefs mesh with children's life-style and relationship patterns. The familiar support groups - made up for people inherently close to the individual, through years of shared experience in the same household or neighborhood - are based more on "givens" of the situation than on specific qualities of the members or on their abilities to identify with each other.

Emotional expression (beyond rather stereotyped responses) is not necessary, nor is mutual identification. The relationships are of a mutually nurturant and unspoken form.

Discontinuity in the Taure'are'a Period:

The lessons learned in childhood, though, are inapplicable to the life-style expected of "wandering youth", particularly of taure'are'a males. I have already discussed structural differences in taure'are'a life-style: viz. that their life-space consists of the village paths and other public places and connectors among household units; their relationships are peer-

oriented, and extend across-kin, across-sex, across-neighborhood and even across valleys; and the nature of their relationships differs from those of adults and children in it's intimacy and quality of mutual identification.

In many way, taure'are'a seem to be outside the normal system of social rules. In terms of work responsibility they are expected to think only of their wandering work. Older adolescents are said to gain adult thought and to contribute to the household by at least doing the pleasurable work, such as spear-fishing. Taure'are'a are much more resistant and ignoring of authority and are expected to be more 'va'avo. Adults mention that as taure'are'a they finally escaped the authority structure of older siblings - which was stronger than that of their parents. The rules of shameful boldness also seem to be somewhat suspended during the taure'are'a period. Similarly, young "errant youth" are suspected of most stealing incidents.

In a similar sense, the solidarity and intimacy of youth depend on social values distinctly different from those learned in childhood. Intimate friendship involve sharing and borrowing, often to the extent of take-without-asking. The strict reciprocity rules of childhood are not as stringently applied. Taure'are'a enter each other's houses, hand around their cooking areas, eat at friend's houses and sometimes sleep-over. All of these contrast greatly with the prohibitions of childhood.

Idiosyncratic emotional expression is much more tolerated in taure'are'a, and possibly empathized with among themselves. Errant youth are expected to be moody, angry, jealous and provocative. On the other hand they express joy, sentimentality and sexual enthusiasm through singing, dancing and sexual joking. Taure'are'a say they share secrets and express feelings to close friends.

In summary, the transition from childhood to adolescence can be said to involve a shift in orientation from household and close-neighbor relationships based on familiarity and unspoken solidarity (with the related theme of limiting and regulating the unfamiliar), to an extended valley of peer-relations, crossing households, neighborhood areas and even valleys. Furthermore, one-to-one relating in childhood is characterized by more "primary processes" with little emphasis on personal expression and interpersonal negotiating. Taure'are'a friendships, on the other hand, stress these.

In very general therms, these themes are reversed in the transition from youth to adulthood. Settling down involves abandoning the sociality and extendedness of adolescence for a smooth-running working relationship with one's spouse. Adult responsibility involves reorientation to the household, and emphasis on quietly providing for this wait. As adults they take the other role in the provider/dependent relationship (though

there is some of the dependency theme in looking for a spouse to keep house).

Goals of household and personal self-sufficiency encourage the same kind of regulation of outside ties seen in childhood, and the avoidance of obligations to others. Though taure'are'a friendships may be maintained throughout adulthood, these are superseded on a day to day basis by household and close neighbor ties. Household cooperation continues the emphasis on predictable and unspoken participation.

In summary, the life-cycle transition moves from childhood themes of household unity and isolation from the outside, to taure'are'a sociality and expressiveness, back to household unity and relative isolation in adulthood. The possible cultural functions of such discontinuity are discussed in greater detail in the next section on the July Festival.

Briefly, however, I am suggesting that the setting apart or highlighting of taure'are'a patterns and beliefs may serve a dual function of: 1) stating cultural ideals of intimate sociality, beauty, grace and physical competence, yet; 2) also indicating the impracticality of these forms by emphasizing the instability of taure'are'a life. It is indicated that in the long run, the more sedate, less specifically-marked adult forms are preferable.

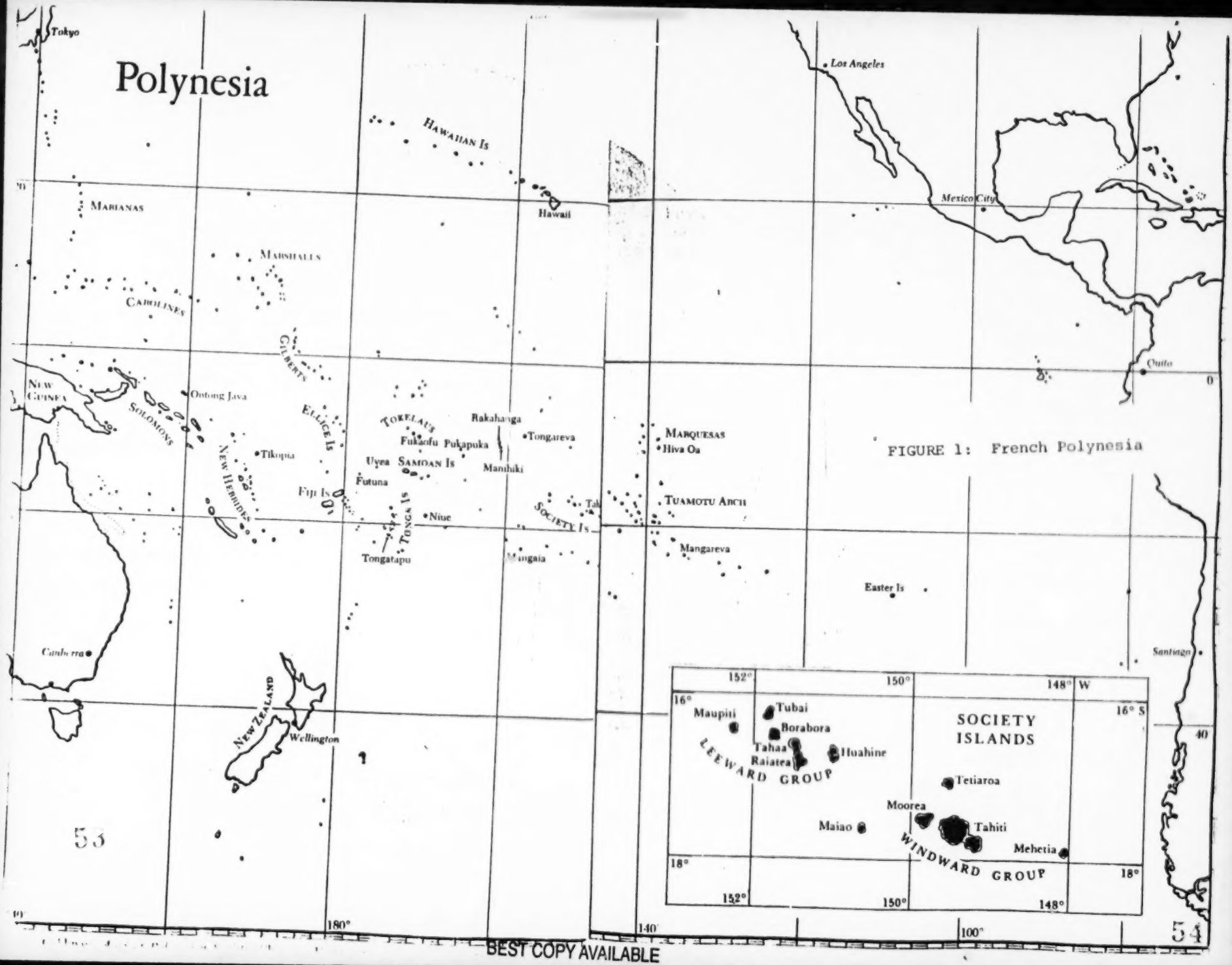

FIGURE 1: French Polynesia

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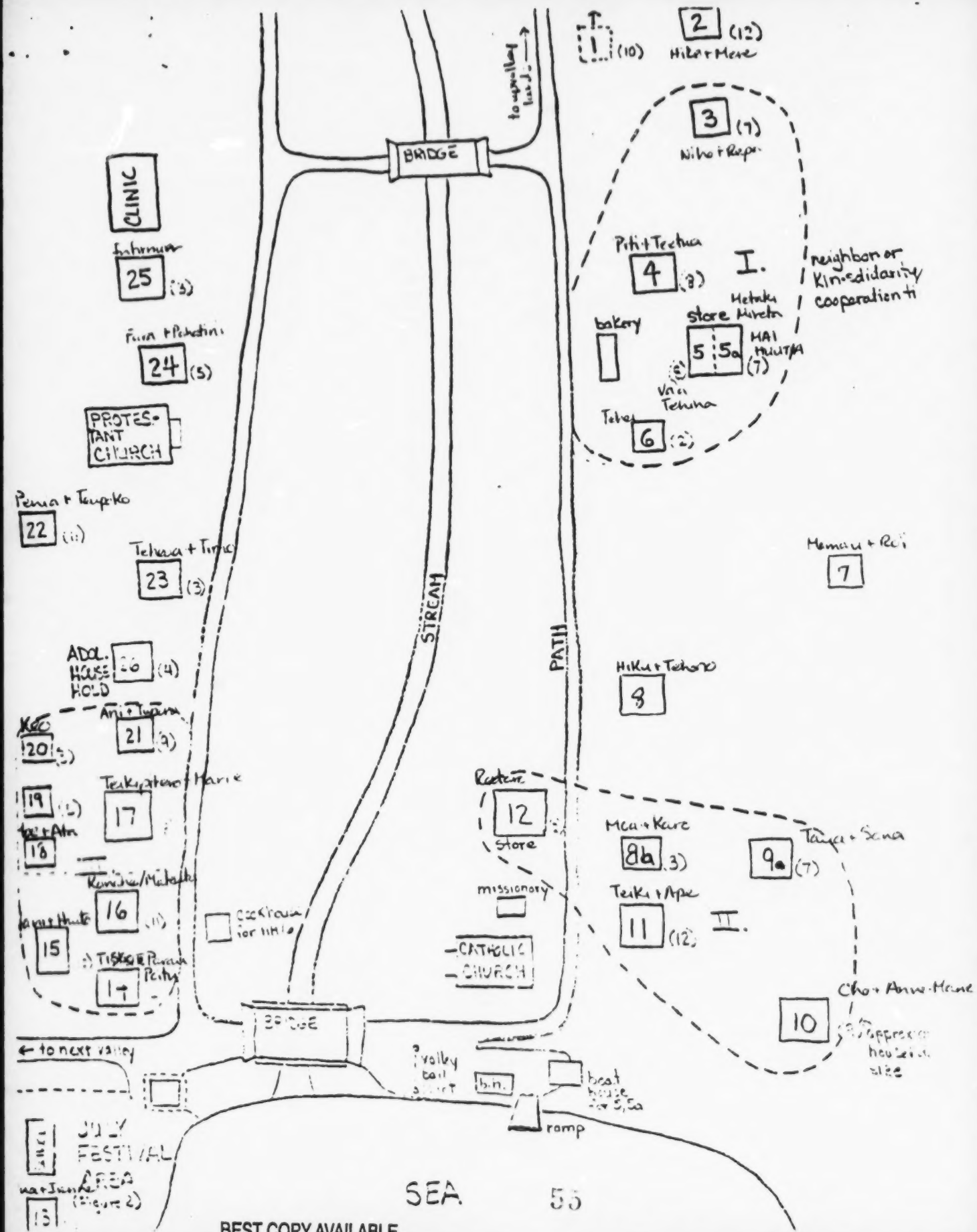

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